

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5089

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 7261

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - T E X T

FOR SISCO FROM MOYNIHAN

E. O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ENGR, IN

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON D. K. BOROOAH, MINISTER OF
PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS, JUNE 12, 1973

SUMMARY: BOROOAH IS A REASONABLY WELL- READ
POLITICIAN, WITH SOMEWHAT LESS OF AN INTELLECT THAN HE
WOULD LIKE TO THINK, BUT WITH FAIR GRASP OF RECENT HISTORY
AND POLITICAL THEORY. HE IS OPEN TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION
WITH OUTSIDERS, BOTH WESTERN AND SOVIET, PROVIDED IT IS ON
TERMS SET BY THE INDIANS, AND ONLY SO LONG AS THE INDIANS
REQUIRE IT. I THINK WE COULD DO BUSINESS WITH HIM --
PROVIDED ELECTIONS ARE NOT IMMINENT. END SUMMARY

1. AS I ENTERED, MINISTER BOROOAH STIRRED FROM AN EASY
CHAIR IN FRONT OF A COFFEE TABLE CLUTTERED WITH BOOKS AND
PAMPHLETS. A PENGUIN ON COSMOLOGY, ANOTHER PAPERBACK
ON OPERATIONS RESEARCH, HINDI TITLES I COULD NOT DECIPHER,
TIME ON WATERGATE, A MISCELLANY OF HISTORY AND POETRY.
EVER SO SLIGHTLY MORE DELIBERATELY THAN WAS NEEDED, HE
PUT THE BOOK HE WAS READING FACE DOWN ON TOP OF A HALF- READ
FILE MARKED " IMMEDIATE." I SPOKE OF THE WEATHER AND THEN
VENTURED THAT I HAD CALLED ON A FAIR NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT
MINISTERS HERE AND THERE IN THE WORLD, BUT THAT HE WAS THE
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FIRST I HAD COME UPON READING MARCUSE. I ASKED TO LOOK AT THE BOOK, A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS DATING BACK TO THE THIRTIES, BUT JUST PUBLISHED: LUTHER, KANT, HEGEL, MARX, POPPER.

2. I ALLOWED THAT I HELD PROFESSOR MARCUSE IN WHAT EVERETT DIRKSEN ONCE TERMED " MINIMUM HIGH REGARD." I VENTURE HE WOULD HAVE BEEN CONTEMPTUOUS OF POPPER. HE HAD, NODDED BOROOAH. ALL THE GREATER THEN WAS MY CONTEMPT, I WENT ON. POPPER: THERE WAS A MAN. CONSIDER THE CONTRAST: BOTH SNATCHED FROM THE TOTALITARIAN HOLOCAUST OF CENTRAL EUROPE AND THEREAFTER BOTH WELCOMED BY THE LIBERAL POLITICAL CULTURES OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, ACCORDED EVER GREATER RESPECT AND INFLUENCE IN EACH. POPPER SHOWED ABOVE ALL A SENSE OF WHAT HE HAD ESCAPED: POLITICAL CULTURE OF TERROR -- WHICH MARCUSE THEREUPON DEVOTED THIRTY YEARS TO CELEBRATING. I AM READING ORWELL'S CORRESPONDENCE AT THE MOMENT AND CITED HIS REMARK THAT THE BRITISH LEFT OF THE 1930 S WANTED TO BE ANTI- FASCIST WITHOUT BEING ANTI- TOTALITARIAN. REPRESSIVE TOLERANCE INDEED*

3. THE MINISTER INDICATED HE TOOK THE POINT PRECISELY, WITHOUT EITHER AGREEING OR DISAGREEING. I PRAISED THE DANES FOR THEIR AWARD TO SIR KARL. HE AGREED WITH THIS. I NOTED THAT TOWARD THE END OF THE 1960 S MARCUSE HAD TRIED WITHOUT NOTABLE SUCCESS TO RESTATE HIS DOCTRINES TO EXEMPT PROFESSORS FROM THE VIOLENT RETRIBUTION OTHERWISE TO BE EXACTED FROM EXPLOITIONARY OLIGARCHS OF THE CAPITALISH HIERARCHY." HE TOOK NOTE OF THIS NEWS. WAS IT NOT ALL VERY LIKE THE SITUATION OF GERMANY IN THE 1930 S, HE THEN SAID, WHEN THE COMMUNISTS CONCLUDED THAT THEIR MOST POTENT ENEMIES WERE THE SOCIALISTS, AND SET OUT TO DESTROY THEM AS " REACTIONARIES" REGARDLESS OF THE RESULTANT BENEFIT TO THE NAZIS. THE DOCTRINE OF " SOCIAL FACISM", I REMARKED. PRECISELY, HE CONTINUED.

4. WE MOVED ON TO A DISCUSSION OF THE BREAKUP OF THE SECOND INTERNATION AT THE OUTSET OF WORLD WAR I. HOW IS IT, I ASKED, THAT MARX CONTINUED TO HAVE SUCH A HOLD ON 20 TH CENTURY MINDS: SURELY THERE WERE NOT HALF A HUNDRED UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN ALL OF INDIA WHO DID NOT THINK THEMSELVES MARXISTS OF ONE OR ANOTHER VARIETY. BOROOAH WAS NOT SO INTERESTING ON THIS POINT; HE VENTURED SIMPLY THAT
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REVOLUTION WAS A RISKY BUSINESS AND MARXISM GAVE TO ITS FOLLOWERS THE CONFIDENCE OF ASSURED VICTORY. THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AS THEY THROW THEMSELVES AGAINST HIERARCHICAL PRIVILEGE, AS FOR EXAMPLE THE RED GUARDS HAD DONE IN CHINA. BUT, SURELY, I CAME BACK, THIS IS THE POINT. THE TWO PRE- EMINENT EXPERIENCES OF THE 20 TH CENTURY HAVE BEEN THE PREVALANCE OF RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND RELIGIOUS STRIFE,

AND THE RECURRENT EMERGENCE OF OLIGARCHIES IDENTICAL IN ALL SAVE THEIR REVOLUTIONARY DOGMA. MARX CANNOT ACCOUNT FOR EITHER OF THESE PHENOMENA. OTTO BAUER HAD SOME SUCCESS ACCOMMODATING THE ETHNIC/ NATIONALIST POLITICS OF THE AUSTRO- HUNGARIAN EMPIRE TO MARXISM BUT HOW TO ACCOUNT FOR POST- REVOLUTIONARY OBIGARCHIES, SAVE IN AN ANALYSIS SUCH AS PARETO' S, WHICH IS HARDLY MARXIST? THE MINISTER DID NOT SEEM TO FEEL THE LEAST RESPONSIBLE FOR UPHOLDING MARX. MY SECOND POINT IS UNANSWERABLE, AND HE LET IT UNANSWERED. AS FOR ETHNICITY, HE REPLIED, CORRECTLY, LENIN HAD ACCOMMODATED TO ITS REALITY.

5. IT WAS TIME TO LEAVE MARX. HOW ARE YOU GETTING ALONG WITH ESSO, I INQUIRED. HE WAS GLAD I ASKED. THE MOST IMPORTANT STATEMENT EVER MADE BY AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT, IN HIS VIEW, WAS COOLIDGE' S DICTUM: " THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA IS BUSINESS." I SAID THAT I HAD QUITE FORGOT THE STATEMENT, BUT COMPLETELY SHARED THE VIEW. HARDING, AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO PRESS DISARMAMENT TO A GENUINE CONCLUSION, AND COOLIDGE WHO WAS THE PRESIDENT WHO TOOK A NAP AFTER LUNCH, COULD NOT FAIL TO BECOME HEROES TO THE COMING GENERATION OF AAMERICAN YOUTH, AND MIGHT WELL BE COMMEDED TO THE YOUTH OF OTHER LANDS.

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